2: Schram--70 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Manchu AG4

/63/

Mo 585 484 784

The travelers who meet a nuptial procession always make a detour to avoid it for fear that the evil spirit which is supposed to follow the bride will bring them misfortune. (1)

Ma 585

1. Shirokogoroff, pp. 80-81: (Those who have come to get the bride dine after taking tea.) An old experienced man, who must belong to the bride's clan, gives orders (master of ceremonies)....(Two girls of the bride's clan and a little boy are seated at dinner near the friend who comes to get the bride. In the morning, people get up early and eat. The bridegroom steals the chopsticks he has used and goes out into the courtyard....) During this meal the bride's clan women dress the bride. During the dressing she cries, or pretends to cry. When she is ready, nobody says her good-bye, and (the master of ceremonies) cries: the bride is ready. Then the bridegroom and all his party run hastily towards the carriage to put as quickly as possible the horses on the carriage. At the same time the crying and resisting bride is carried by her brothers, who throw her into the carriage that must be run out the yard as soon as possible. After this it can be stopped to arrange the harness. Usually the bride's brothers escort on horseback the bridal caravan. The customs of the ancient Manchus differ a little from these of the modern Manchus. For ex.: the bridegroom enters the bride's house only with his aid...prays to the bride's clan spirits...after this sits down on a small basket (for chickens /in English/) to await

/73 cont'd/

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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person. Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

585

The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

[39 cont.]
792 is no actual escort in a procession with horses as at the reception.
796 The lama rides back alone with his monks. Only the
574 gifts are brought after him on animals.

[40] The hutukhtus are always received in this festive manner. Lesser lamas, for instance, those who come just to pray at an obo, are accorded a simple reception. A similar procedure is followed for the Bon priests, shamans, and soothsayers.
[465] They are not fetched ceremonially, and they are given only a moderate fee.

351
796 Taboo of the compound: At many prayer ceremonies of
784 the lama, the compound is forbidden to strangers. This is called "to forbid the door." Whoever is not present at the beginning of the performance may not enter the yard. On the other hand, people who were in the yard from the beginning may later come and go freely (7). In order to mark the yard as

[609]
[792]
[211]
[177]

7. [Foreign text p. 42.] According to other statements, this applies only to the occupants of the house. Guests who go away may not return.

prohibited (taboo), the master of the household attaches a cypress or fir twig or a sieve to the gate of the yard (8).

8. [Foreign text p. 42.] The informant

[534]

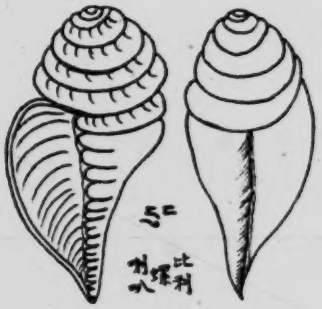

Fig. 6. Shells.

[532]

(Drawing of a Tujen.)

351 [40 cont.]
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[177]

[Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.] maintains that formerly the Tujen used no sieve and that they learned of it from the Chinese. Nowadays paper is commonly used when it is a matter of a taboo that is not connected with the prayer service. Thus the people stick a rectangular piece of red paper to the gate intrados, on the right when, for example, there is sickness in the compound, and on the left when a woman is in confinement there. White paper is used when someone has died, a custom that probably comes from the Chinese.

[574] [792] The taboo always lasts for several days, three, five, seven, always an odd number, and always as long as the lama is staying at the house, as well as two days afterwards. If, for example, the lama is there only one day, the taboo lasts three days; if he is there three days, it lasts five days, etc. If he is in the house for seven days, however, the taboo lasts for an entire week after his departure (9).

9. [Foreign text pp. 42-43.] The taboo regulations mentioned here also apply to other religious ceremonies, even when no lama or Bon priest is invited. The taboo is then in force for only three days, however. -- Even the best friends are not admitted into the house, but are dealt with by the gate of the yard. For this reason they must first call out loudly so that someone will come out.

[751] [43] Sometimes the people also say that in case of illness the yard is marked not out of fear of the spirits, but

351 [40 cont.]
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[Note on foreign text p. 43 cont.]
rather in order to give strangers a signal so that they will not be infected and will stay outside.

Word List

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Lama: lama; ho-shang (Chin.).
Lama of the Yellow Sect: gẽlõñba (Tib.); sira lama.
Lama of the Red Sect: fulan lama.
Great lama: šge lama; ching-fa ta-ti lama (Chin.).
Small lama: mula lama.
Hutukhtu (6): sãñ (10); šge sãñ = great H.; mula sãñ = small H.
huo-fuo (Chin.) = Living Buddha; fo-yeh = Buddha.

ß. [Foreign text p. 42.] The common people know little about the hierarchy among the monks. They know great and small lamas. Among the great they count the hutukhtu, the tsũordzi and the kãnbõ. According to their conception, a great lama is especially learned, knows many magical practices, and therefore has special power. The small lamas have only a little learning and are able to perform only minor ceremonies, for instance, the obo prayer.

[775] The hutukhtus are regarded as Buddhic incarnations. In this the common people do not differentiate between Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Among them everything is fuo-yeh, that is, Buddha-Father. They use this Chinese name for everything that is [778] the seat of the spirit or a spirit itself, [775] in other words, also for the incarnations

[41 cont.]

192 Prayer fee: bosē (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

196 Tea provided in the lamic monastery: mäntsia (mändzia) (10) [see Note 10 on p. 67].

[784] Taboo of the compound: udie dzilā-; chi-men (Chin.) = to
[357] forbid the door.

[Pages 41-43 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[43] III. Customs concerning the Dwelling and Settlement

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1. The Incense Sacrifice*

*See "Notes," pp. 46-49 [of the foreign text]. In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

372 Every day at sunrise the house and yard are swept clean.
782 The housewife fans the family fire on the kang, around which
512 young and old gather during the day. The master of the house
[356] washes his hands and face (1), takes some coals from the fire,
[783]
[515]

1. [Foreign text p. 46.] This ablution is undertaken for all religious activities, and it is also the common way of washing oneself in the morning. Since wash-bowls are unknown or have been used only recently, it is done in the following way: one takes a mouthful of water from a bowl and rinses the mouth; then he

[55] 3. The Mani-tree and the Central Fort *

* See "Notes," pp. 60-63 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In almost every Tujen yard a mani-tree is set up in the middle of the central fort [Mittelburg] or round manger [Rundkrippe]. The mani-tree need not be erected at the same time as this central fort; it can be done later. The time is determined by the soothsayer.

The mani-tree consists of a wooden mast with a tip, which represents sun and moon. Below this tip a five-colored cover is drawn over the mast-end, and below this mast-end flies the white mani-flag.

This flag is printed in the lamic monastery. At the same time the master of the household invites a lama to raise the tree. The lama prays several days and on the last day undertakes the raising. During these days the yard is taboo. The great incense offering is presented three times daily.

At the raising, the mast is brought into the yard, placed with its tip on the central fort, and the individual parts are attached to it. Once the pole has been set up, it is fumigated, first with the red-hot stone and then with incense. The soothsayer takes some grains of barley from a plate with the spear tip and throws them over the tree, and the master of the household [56] [Fig. 7 appears here] dabs the tree with butter. Then the men dig a narrow deep hole in the central fort down to the level of the ground. The soothsayer again throws some grains of barley into it with the spear, and the master of the household also strews a few incense leaves in it. Then the men set the tree in the hole and draw it up. In order to make it stand firmly, it is wedged in at the base with stones and clay. The entire operation is done under the constant supervision of the spear-god cited.

[58 cont.]

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[Foreign text p. 61 cont.]
New Year, very early in the morning, as I observed. On this occasion a great incense offering with a great many small dough-lamps are burned, bread, tea, and barley wine are offered, and finally a pack of paper horse-images with all kinds of inscriptions is thrown into the air and scattered in all directions by the wind. The entire ceremony takes place on a mountain. In case of misfortune anyone may undertake this ceremony at will.

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The sheep offering: When a lama has raised the mani-pole, then there remains the above-described offering of bread wine, flowers, etc. After that the lama withdraws into the house. In the yard the spear-soothsayer divines once more whether the spirits want another sheep offering or not. The soothsayer then announces the will of the spirit; sometimes the latter dispenses with a sheep offering; sometimes he wants to have it immediately, and sometimes only after a few days. The yard must then remain taboo for that length of time. -- The sheep offering is never given in the presence of the lama, since it is, of course, always connected with the killing of the animal, and the lamas do not permit killing. The ritual of the sheep offering does not differ from the usual slaughter- and offering-ritual.

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[372]

Renewal of the mani-tree: If in the course of time the tree or the flag have suffered damage, they are renewed, that is, only the part that is damaged. The tattered flag is burned, for instance, in the hearth or in a fire specially kindled for it, but always with pure firewood, never with the usual dry dung, for example. The unusable mani-tree is likewise burned. In no case may it be used for other purposes,

[58 cont.]
*778 say, as roof board. When the mani-tree or the part concerned is replaced, everything is done with the same ceremonies as at a new raising.

[357] The small mani-flag: Instead of the large mani-tree, a small pole with an air-horse pennant is frequently raised on the yard gate of the outer yard. This pennant is about an ell square and is printed only with the picture of the air-horse, or at most with a few brief Tibetan sayings as well. This pennant is also made in the monastery. No lama and no soothsayer is invited to raise this flag, however. The soothsayer merely determines a lucky day and a favorable hour. Everything is done without special ceremonies, even without an incense offering. The yard, however, is taboo for a few days. Some farmers raise both the large mani-flag in the yard and the small mani-flag on the gate.

[792] [791] [357] [784]

357 *778 [791] [792] The round manger: When a new compound is laid out, a round manger or central fort is always dug in the middle of the yard, exactly in accordance with the soothsayer's directions. For this purpose, the lama makes five treasure-urns, which are set in the pit. The pit is covered level with the ground and over it is raised a round wall of about two meters in diameter and one meter high. The lower three layers are stones; the upper layers, air-dried bricks. This circle is filled with clay and stamped down. In the center there is a pole or a cart axle, to which the animals are tied [59] when they are sunned and fed there during the day. For that reason the whole structure is called "round manger." It is also called "central fort," for it is the center of the yard and the buried urns protect the compound. The central fort is complete only when the mani-pole is raised. On the edge of the round manger, facing the main house, is found the fumigating plate. -- The making and burying of the urns is done with the same ceremonies that are performed in connection with the treasure-urn or the raising of a beṅkaṅ (chorten chamber). -- The round manger is painted white. After the raising, the master of the household holds a

[231] [527]

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.] therefore stand on a mountain. -- They take the sacred place quite seriously. Thus, it is striking that for all Tujen villages mountain terrain is set aside, a piece of grass land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the Chinese intervene, however, these mountain groves disappear. From these sparse remains one can imagine what the now bare agricultural land looked like in former times.

[21]

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down; the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
[792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-
[791] god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound.
[178] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[469] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives
[766] 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[647 cont.]

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[769]
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[764]

[Note on foreign text pp. 656-657 cont.] certain lucky days, but the Tujen have no special lucky days for the dead. The day of the ch'ing-ming, however, is always an unfailingly lucky day, and therefore one waits until then. On the other hand, he claimed that the Tujen formerly never had cemeteries, but buried their dead wherever they wished, although not in a common field; after the introduction of cremation this was all the more unnecessary. -- One can scarcely ignore here the probability of an original double interment.

The period of mourning: The actual period of mourning lasts 49 days. Originally the Tujen had no hundred-days [177] memorial; nowadays, however, they often imitate the Chinese in this.

During these 49 days after the storage of the bones, the chief mourner must go to the provisional grave daily at sundown [782] and burn incense there, pour out soup, and kowtow three times. On the forty-ninth day, however, the whole family goes out, makes an offering of tea, bread, and liquor, and burns paper. In former times on this occasion the men burned the hemp hair-string from their queue, and the women the paper parts of their headdress, which they wore as a sign of mourning. Since nowa- [178] days the queue and headdress have disappeared, this ceremony has been lost.

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784 Starting from the day of death to the forty-ninth day after the bone storage, the members of the family of the dead person may not pay any visits, not even to relatives. If they [574] want to speak to someone, they may not enter the yard, but must ask the people to come out before the yard gate. Even [796] more strongly are they forbidden to visit temples, to appear before the gods' images, to make incense offerings, or to [262] undertake other cult activities. -- During this time spiced

765 [647 cont.]
foods, white flour, butter, and milk are also prohibited. The
784 food consists of simple tsamba. All trips must be made on foot;
[262] one may not ride, but one is allowed to take a beast of burden
[585] along. -- The mourners must abstain from marital intercourse;
also, they may not appear at weddings, for that brings misfortune
[783] to the bride. -- A bereaved shaman or soothsayer may not offici-
[796] ate during this time; in general mourning makes one unclean,
and therefore he should not even be present at a religious event.

[783] After the forty-ninth day these prescriptions automatically lapse. Special purification ceremonies are not necessary. One again starts making the incense offering in the yard, shaves, and pursues his daily activities.

769 Veneration of the dead: Aside from the grave festival, at which all gather for the offering at the kin-group cemetery, the Tujen have no veneration of the dead. There are no ancestral tablets.

769 There is no further thought about the soul of a dead per-
775 son; it has started its migration. Most people know almost nothing about any reward or punishment after death. They do fear the dead, especially if [648] someone has died with claims on or debts to the living, for instance, if the dead person had
[777] been robbed, if a deed was unexpiated, etc. Then the soul haunts its old dwelling, brings misfortune and illness to its own
[791] family, indeed, even discord and death. In such cases one questions a soothsayer concerning the cause of the misfortune, and when it is established that a soul of the dead is involved,
[782] it is determined in detail what still must be done for this soul. One goes to the grave, burns paper, and makes an offering to the dead. If that does not help, one invites a lama to pray for several days; the latter makes a special torma, which is carried away so that the misfortune will be banished.

764 Youthful and unnatural deaths: Boys at the age of 15
885 years are reckoned as adults; they receive a cremation like the adults, regardless of whether they are already married or not.
766 From one to 15 years of age, they are exposed on the field,

[831 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 834 cont.] the other hand, it is done for protection against bad weather, it is also popularly done before the pole-goat.

[562] Persons: As is the case for all religious ceremonies, the women are kept away. The participants are the seed-master, the village elders, and all other men and youths. Any kind of [791] soothsayer may appear on this occasion. It is important that at the actual offering some spirit is always summoned by the soothsayer and supervises the performance. -- Participation is also [784] prohibited to all who are in mourning and in whose compound there is a woman in childbed. -- People with empty utensils, for example, empty water pails, baskets, etc., may not come near. For this reason the gong is beaten before the offering, so that such persons will stay away (2).

[787]
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2. [Foreign text p. 834.] The fear of an encounter with empty utensils is quite general in Tsinghai. It signifies poverty, vain endeavor, etc. Tujen express the wish, for example, before a journey: huodzẽn sawa bi pẽngë, that is, "may an empty vessel not appear." The Chinese, too, have similar expressions.

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Sacrificial animal: As sacrificial animal only a sheep is considered, no goat and especially no pig. The sheep may be of any color and sex, even castrated. It must be at least a year old, however. A sheep that is too young would be an insult to the gods, aside from the fact that the meat would not [621] be sufficient for the participants. Usually the [832] sheep is purchased jointly. Every family must provide grain or money for this purpose; the owner is always given compensation. To be [784] sure, the sheep may not come from a family that is taboo at the time, for instance, through bereavement, childbed, sickness, etc.

192 [849 cont.]
789 Raven's feather: kērie fōdĕ.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzĕrĕ ilieni xuarladzia.
[778] Horse's skull: mori tolgūē yāsĕ.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgēdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]
080 4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

755 [192] 1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn̥ in rdzõn̥wa is the same as in dzõn̥rĕ. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

[789]

Report

[756] In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

[789] Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.
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[784]

[852 cont.] 5. The Washing of the Sick

Report

755 The washing of the sick is undertaken by the sword-
[756 shaman at the coming of darkness. He puts himself in a trance
787] as is customary during the incense offering, then throws a few kernels of Tibetan barley on his breast-mirror, which is held flat, and prophesies which illness is involved; then he under-
[35 takes the ceremonies. The taboo for the compound begins on
784] the following day and, depending on the declaration of the shaman, may last three, five, or seven days.

The ceremony has three parts: the actual washing, fire-blowing, and the healing drink. The things needed for the washing are provided by the family itself.

Details

The washing of the sick: The washing takes place in the kitchen. The following things are needed for it: seven bowls of fresh water, an iron knife, a door lock, seven white stones, a bowl of liquor, some flowers, three, five, and seven pieces of paper with certain prayer texts, seven different things in all.

755 Now in the kitchen the hearth kettle is washed, fumi-
756 gated, and placed on the fire. The master of the household lights the fire and throws [853] incense twigs into it. Now the
[787 shaman, already in a trance, comes out of the main house into the kitchen; in his right hand he holds his spirit-sword, while he keeps his left hand free for the various actions.

First the seven bowls of water are poured into the kettle, and the shaman throws incense twigs and Tibetan barley into it. Then he thrusts his sword through his clothes into his chest as
[783 proof of his power and in order to purify himself. No blood flows.

Meanwhile the sick person is brought into the kitchen. The shaman bares the chest of the patient and thrusts the above-mentioned knife midway into it. No blood may flow. If the
[787 sick person bleeds, then he will not be healed; if he does not bleed, he will be saved. The shaman plasters the wound with one of the prayer sheets; he throws the knife into the kettle.

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 858 cont.] fortune, which consists of several conchoidal eggs and is surrounded with flames, nuru. This is found very often in Lamaistic symbolism and is also borne by the air-horse. It is the cintāmaṇi. Cf. above: "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation," Note 2.

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Persons: The urn can only be made by a lama who possesses special powers. One never fetches a Living Buddha for it. The latter, however, may make and consecrate them in his monastery. -- Since one can also order the urns in the monastery (they are not in stock), the master of the household may fetch it from there and bury it at home without a lama. [791] It must always be done with the assistance of a soothsayer, however, and in the presence of an invoked spirit -- If one wants to bury several urns, however, this must always be done by a lama even if the urns were bought in the monastery. -- If one wants to have several urns made at home, then he fetches [351] [784] several lamas at the same time (5). -- Regardless of whether the

5. [Foreign text pp. 858-859.] As the lamas in Kumbum maintain, there is a great number of treasure urns, and special prayers are used for each type. [859] The urns are preferably buried in obos. -- In [192] Kumbum the urns are usually called beṅba, which seems to be the same as the Tibetan bum-ba, vessel. Another name is xdĕr-wĕm, which probably corresponds to the Tibetan gter-bum, treasure vessel, Chinese pao-p'ing. The expression sĕnoġ-dĕr (cf. section, [178] "Mani-tree and Central Fort") perhaps

[857 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.] comes from the fact that the urn is consecrated with certain conjuration formulas, snags (dha-rani), in other words, represents a magic treasure.

urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

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[858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

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777

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

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6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.] According to this explanation, an offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

3: Schröder--288 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[860]

8. The Fire-pouring*

*See "Notes," pp. 867-870 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

In the case of family misfortune one sometimes invites in the lama so that he will undertake the fire-pouring. This lasts seven days. On the first day the lama comes with his companions. They make a small torma which one takes out into the open and throws away. After that the taboo for the yard is begun by hanging a cypress twig to the gate. On the second day three large tormas are made, which are placed on the household altar. The lama prays five times a day. On the sixth day, in the afternoon, the immediate preparations for the fire-pouring are made; two or three lamas take care of this, during which at least another one remains seated on the kang and continues praying. One fetches the spear-soothsayer. He determines, with the usual ceremonies of calling upon the spear-god, the place for the burning at the fire-pouring.

After that, the lama once more makes a torma and puts it on the place that the soothsayer has designated. He sits on a mat in front of it and prays the appropriate prayers, while the master of the household undertakes the great incense offering in the yard. Then the torma is taken out in front of the gate and thrown away so that the birds will eat it. The lama now rises from his mat and makes the ground-drawing on the burning-place, and with some bricks or clay bricks the people build a small [861] wall in front of it. The drawing is covered for the night with sacks or boards, so that no one will run across it and thereby pollute it.

On the seventh day, very early, the lama holds his prayer service. After breakfast the people prepare everything

[861 cont.]

782 792 outside for the ceremony, and the lama makes another torma of pure butter. He takes this outside and puts it on the drawing of the burning-place. Then the ceremony of the fire-pouring follows, at which all kinds of wood and spices are burned.

The lama continues to pray until evening. The following morning he receives his fee and is taken back to the monastery. Sometimes, however, one keeps him a few more days for [784] [351] prayers. -- After the fire-pouring the yard remains taboo for at least another week.

Details

[756] Persons: The fire-pouring may not be undertaken by shamans, but only by lamas. These are not ordinary lamas, however. Only the three top classes are considered for it: the Hutukhtu, the Tsüordzi, and the Känpo. Usually three lamas are needed. It suffices if one of them belongs to the higher rank, but one often invites more (1).

[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 867.] Other Tujen claim that a Bon priest could also undertake the fire-pouring, which, after all, is to be expected, at least in the case of the black fire-pouring. The old informant, however, and other people, too, decidedly contest this. According to them, only a lama (gelõngba) is to be considered for this; the Bon priests, they claim, concern themselves only with demon exorcism.

782 The fire-pouring may be ordered by a private person (man or woman), by an individual family, or by the entire village. -- During the ceremony, the general avoidance pre- [562] scriptions apply. Women may be present, but may not assist.

[861 cont.]

782 Place: Ordinarily the fire-pouring takes place in a compound. If the affair is organized by the village, then the temple yard is preferred. They may also go to a mountain, but not to its peak, only halfway up. -- The burning-place is always indicated in detail by a soothsayer. [791]

There are no further prescriptions concerning the location of the various types of fire-pourings, except for the black fire-pouring. It may never be undertaken in a yard, temple, or in the village. For it a very remote mountain region is sought and the people stay there in tents for several days.

[791] Time: The soothsayer determines the date days or weeks ahead of time. If the lama cannot come on the day set, then [792] he is asked to state the term, and the soothsayer then determines a day within this period. The ceremony always lasts seven days; the actual fire-pouring always takes place on the morning of the last day. There are no interdicted periods; it could also be undertaken when the family concerned is still in its period of mourning or when there is still a woman in childbed in the compound. In this case, the woman in childbed, for instance, would not be allowed to watch.

778 Tormas: Six tormas in all are made. 1. A small torma, 782 as always in connection with lama-visits. This is the misfortune-torma, after whose removal the compound is taboo. 2. On the [792] morning of the second day three large tormas follow. One of [351] them represents the god (Buddha), to whom the [862] fire-pouring [784] is presented. The other two, which are slightly lower, symbolize his two subordinate companions. The color of these tormas varies according to which god is involved. The tormas are put before the household altar or in the household chapel, and they are elevated in a box that is covered with a cloth or a board so that no animal (for instance, a cat) can desecrate them. The votive gifts are put in a row in front of these tormas: seven bowls of pure water, a bowl of barley wine, a bowl of sugar, a bowl of dough beans, and several small butter-lamps. These little lamps remain burning day and night until the conclusion

[865 cont.]

Caption for illustrations a, b, c, d.

241 782 752 [757] [341] [292] [534] [778] [142] a: Fully-equipped shaman-mast in the local temple at Pao-chia-k'ou (Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) at the sowing festival, 1948. The same shaman-trees are erected at the harvest thank-offering. There are also simpler forms, however. (To accompany the chapter, "The Harvest Thank-offering.") b: Drum-shaman, fa-shih or shih-kung or bo. A Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai near the Tujen village Chia-chia-ling. Taken at the harvest thanksgiving festival, Chia-chia-ling, October, 1948. In his right hand, he holds the hoop-drum with the stick; in his left hand he holds the three-pointed spirit-sword; over his shoulder he carries the hemp whip with the carved handle. The five-part crown is like that of the gurtum. (To accompany the chapter, "The Sowing and Harvest Festivals.")

782 792 292 c: Lama in full dress and with implements for the fire-pouring. Photograph posed in the lamasery Hsin-szu, about ten kilometers west of Tangkar, May, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "The Fire-pouring.") d: The Taoshih of Kanchiapu in the death position in his death-box. The doors have been taken off. Photograph posed. The death-box of the Tujen is almost identical. [764] [171] Kanchiapu, spring, 1949. (To accompany the chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead.") Photographs: Dominik Schröder.

(continuation of text)

782 792 butter, little plates, etc., until everything is burned in the fire. The lama now gives the concluding prayer amidst the sound of his percussion instruments and returns to the house. -- He cleans his instruments, takes his meal, receives his fee, and on the following day rides back to the monastery with his companions, unless one wants to keep him there for other prayers that have nothing to do with the fire-pouring.

[357] [784] [333] The compound remains taboo for seven days, and during these seven days the burning-place is left as it is. Afterwards, the wall is torn down, and all traces of the ceremony are removed. The clay bricks can be used again for profane purposes.

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [473] [525] 794

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even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

out having carefully inquired whether it is propitious and whether it is a lucky day for such an action. They invite a lama of the Red or Yellow Sect, a Chinese Taoist priest, a shaman or Kurtain, to consult about the problem. Such information is required for the starting of agricultural activities, the building or repair of houses, the northern side of which would perhaps not be allowed to be repaired this year, and the southern side only next year, in order not to offend the spirits. These consultations have to be held for marriages, funerals, the starting of a journey, gelding of animals, vaccination against smallpox, even for the perforation of the ear lobes of a girl for wearing earrings.

A Monguor never starts a long journey without having attached to his pigtail some copper coins of the Yüan dynasty to prevent the breaking of arms or legs in the event the horse should fall.[3] The girth of his saddle and the halter have to be made with white hair of cows or with wool; the girdle of the rider, however, requires black hair, to conform with the demands of the spirit of horses. The horseman never ties his horse to the door of a house, for the spirit of the door will hurt him. After finishing his devotion, in passing by an Obo, the horseman is not allowed to linger on top of the pass lest the spirit of the Obo punish him. If a horseman encounters some fresh water running down the road, or if he meets a woman carrying a bucket of water, these are good omens pointing to the favorable disposition of the spirits toward him.

While walking with the intendant at the lamasery of Seerkok, we met two donkeys carrying water. Immediately I received the congratulations of the intendant for the propitiousness of the spirits toward me, and he recounted the fact to the dignitaries of the monastery. However, when a woman carrying an empty basket sees a rider, she flees at full speed, in order to prevent mischief for the horseman. It is a bad sign to see a snake or hare crossing the road, and the traveler avoids encountering a nuptial procession. In carrying the clothes of a deceased at the monastery, the collar and sleeves of the clothes are put on the saddle in such a way as to hang on the left side; the collar and sleeves of clothes of a living man are hung on the right side lest the rider should die soon. Never say to a horseman that he is riding a poor animal, but congratulate him on his strong horse, for otherwise it is unlucky.

Never walk on a sheet of paper, or put your hat on a book, for Buddha will punish you. Never talk about possible calamities or they will certainly harm you. When a new gate is built to a courtyard, a rich man who has plenty of children and particularly boys, has to be invited to pass through the new gate first, in order

[3] The Ordos Mongol horse breakers never omit attaching to the whip a coin called *Wu chou* in order to prevent dangerous falls. The coin is called the "stirrup coin" because the old character for *Wu* (five) represents two stirrups, the upper parts of which are adjustable. (Communication of Father A. Mostaert.)

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that the family may become rich and be blessed with children. If a beggar happens to go through first, the gate has to be rebuilt. A guest never enters directly the home of a friend, lest he might harm the family. Never prepare a hare or chicken for dinner for a guest, because it would harm him. When two friends, having a long talk at night, see the black top of the lamp wick showing the shape of a flower, they congratulate each other, smiling, for the spirit promises to both a happy event in the family. If a crow caws on the roof, it has to be driven away immediately lest a member of the family die or get sick. A member of the family will certainly die soon if a parson crow (hooded crow) enters the door; a calamity is imminent if a magpie cries in the evening, even if, at night, foxes howl, horses neigh, and dogs bark. If a hen crows trouble will surely start in the family, the harvest will be bad, and maybe the Moslems will rebel.

A bride on her wedding day is not allowed to be put on the horse by a "half man," a widower or bachelor; her makeup is not to be done by a "half woman," a widow or a girl, for fear of becoming soon a "half woman." A person dreaming at night about unlucky events, spits for a long time in order that ominous events will not befall him. Never give things to children which are entire, for example, hold over a bit of the frosting of a cookie. The same rule is observed when something is given to a beggar, for fear the guardian spirit of your wealth, should wreak vengeance and the family be impoverished. When drinking tea or wine, or eating food, always throw a bit of it over your shoulder, or sprinkle a few drops, thereby feeding the hungry souls roaming all over the world, in order not to be harmed by them. Never urinate in a river, or facing the sun or the moon, or at night in front of the manikan. At night never appear completely naked before the manikan, or you will surely be harmed. All the taboos after childbirth and funerals are scrupulously observed.

These few facts give an insight into the mentality of fear prevailing among the Monguors concerning the whole army of malignant spirits which surround them. No wonder that the whole day long they cast horoscopes in order to avoid all possible harm. These few facts will help to understand the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live and practice their religion.[4]

[4] The very valuable study of F. Johan Frick and F. Franz Eichinger, Tiere in Volksleben, Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China), 125 sq., Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, U. S. A. (1925), concerning the region of Huan-Yüan, west of Hsining, inhabited by Tibetans and Chinese, neighbors of the Monguors, provides interesting and minute details related to this special field. Because Tibetans and Chinese are enrolled in the Monguor clans, many of those beliefs and practices are necessarily encountered among the Monguors. The study helps to shed light on the frame of mind and the world of fear in which the Monguors live. Similarly,

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time during which these rites are performed in one village after another, everywhere children are encountered wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed upon them by a more civilized environment than that

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

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offer to the Living Buddha, and being very exacting, according to the custom, he urges that they should offer five or more horses, two or three hundred sheep, two or three hundred pounds of butter, five hundred dollars. This moment is the very important opportunity for the master of ceremonies to display his utmost oratorical proficiency in behalf of the celebrant who invited him, bringing the amount of required alms to a rational level (which has been fixed beforehand on both sides!). It is a means of making known all over the country the prodigality of the family toward the lamas. 527 604 792

The Living Buddha, with his two or four assistants, is greeted on the threshing floor by all the guests kneeling, holding in their joined hands the incense sticks, and is led to the living room in order to drink tea and rest for a while. Then he comes to sit in the courtyard where he receives the prostrations and scarf of the maternal uncle and of the celebrant, and blesses all the guests, touching each one's head with the ritual red silk tassel attached to a short wooden rod, while the assistants prepare the *torma*. He enters the living room; the celebrant kneels before him, having at his side the maternal uncle. He drinks a first draught of holy water, presented to him by the Living Buddha, and spits the second gulp upon the *torma* placed before him, and swallows a third one. All his sins are spit upon the *torma*; he is interiorly purified, and the *torma* is thrown outside the courtyard.

The Living Buddha, having blown three times upon some spelt, throws it upon him, and the celebrant is smoked with pounded cypress leaves and cones. Holy water is sprinkled upon him with the ritual peacock feathers. Ritual texts are read over him, and the Living Buddha explains before all the guests the obligations [714] ● inherent in the blessings: to fast on the first and the fifteenth of the month and Wei-sang; to attend the fasting exercises held in the country every year; not to kill any living being, not drink alcohol, eat garlic, leeks, and radishes, nor eat birds and eggs; to abstain from the slightest injustices, to give alms, to pray more Om Mani. Finally a yellow scarf, previously blessed, is put by the Living Buddha on his left shoulder and bound under the right arm. The man has become a lay-monk. He will wear the scarf under or upon his cloths to his dying day, and hang it on the wall at night. Once in a while a very fervent lay-monk is encountered who has shaved his head like the lamas. However, it is reported that many of these lay-monks are not faithful to their obligations, because many perform the rite and invite a Living Buddha in order more to celebrate their cycle of age with greater display and pomp, than to perform an act of religion. Then follows the gala dinner in the courtyard, after which the Living Buddha retires into his private room and remains with the family overnight.

The next morning a breakfast of milk tea, rolls baked in oil, and mutton, is offered to the Living Buddha. While the family kneels in the room, an entire sheep is

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pounds of butter boil in another caldron. The Living Buddha, in full attire with the mitre of the five Dyhana Buddhas on his head, squats on a felt in front of a table, with dishes containing spelt, rice, spices, and holy water. He recites the prayers, with a curtain between him and the oven, lest the sight of the burning corpse might desecrate his eyes. He orders a lama to throw the blessed spelt and spices on the burning corpse and puts some butter into a small ladle held by the lama, who pours it on the corpse.

When the rite is finished the group prostrates itself and cries to the smoking corpse for the last time, "Do not harm the family," and returns. All of them jump over a fire built before the courtyard, wash their hands, and rub them over a long knife used to cut straw. Noodles without meat are prepared for all of them, and they say five-hundred Om Manis. The lama receives his alms (always in an odd number) and returns to the monastery. The horse of the deceased father or the valuable headdress of the deceased mother will be brought to the monastery with a couple of pieces of best clothes to be sold by the lamas, and to have prayers said according to the value of the sale of the items.[86] The clothes carried by the horse are to be put on the saddle with the collar and arms on the left side; a horse is mounted on the right side.

In the meantime, the sons and sons-in-law have tended the oven and closed the four openings. After three days the members of the family and relatives open the oven, pick out the bones with chopsticks and put them into the small coffin prepared for this. The remaining fragments of bones and ashes are gathered up in the skirts of the gown and scattered on the mountain. It is said that sheep are very fond of such bones. The cremation must not be performed in cultivated areas, it has to be done in deep valleys or lonely spots. Every year after the shamanist springtime feast, this prohibition is expressly announced. The sons and sons-in-law bury the small coffin in their fields or near the oven, and make a small tumulus. While the sons are kneeling before the tumulus, the sons-in-law and married and unmarried daughters bring some earth a couple of times in the skirts of their gowns, and spread it on top of the tumulus. Paper is burned, a lamp made of dough is lit, libations and prostrations are made and lamentations are uttered. The coffin will be dug up again the following April, on the feast of the worship of the ancestors buried in the family cemetery, and the name of the deceased will be noted on the genealogical register (see Part I: 71). After the tumulus rite is performed

[86] A similar custom is encountered among the Mongols: Serruys, *op. cit.*, 137. The barbarians (i.e., the Mongols of Inner Mongolia around 1600) invited lamas to recite prayers for the dead for seven days. They gave to the lamas in remuneration the best horse, which the deceased loved most; his best clothes and his coat of armor, and all the oxen and horses which the family received from friends and relatives as mourning gifts. See also Van Oost, *op. cit.*, 126, and Kervyn, *op. cit.*, 112.

/The Monguors/

000on the luckless family.

N *563 M 231 [777] The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

N *563 M 515 [784] Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

N *563 M 24 233 433 The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

N *563 M 24 [777] [432] The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

N *563 M 231 554 [556] [184] Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

N *563 M 233 463 Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society